

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO ALL NATO CAPITALS

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 024941

FOLLOWING REPEAT MADRID 0696 ACTION SECSTATE 29 JAN 76.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MADRID 0696

PASS TO ALL NATO CAPITALS

E.O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, SP, ELAB

SUBJECT: DEVELOPING VIEWS OF PSOE SOCIALIST LEADER FELIPE
GONZALEZ

1. WE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING WITH INTEREST THE REPORTING ON
RECENT EUROPEAN SOCIALIST MEETINGS AND THE ROLE PLAYED
THEREIN BY THE SPANISH PSOE SOCIALIST LEADER FELIPE
GONZALEZ. IN THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE HELSINGOR MEETING
AND THE MITTERAND MEDITERRANEAN SOCIALIST MEETING, HE SAW THE
AMBASSADOR PRIVATELY. A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE PRINCIPAL POINTS
FOLLOWS (A MEMCON IS BEING POUCHED TO ADDRESSEES): (A)
PSOE, DESPITE FACT IT OPPOSES SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PCE),
WILL CONTINUE TO INSIST ON LEGALIZATION OF PCE; THOUGH PSOE
WILL PARTICIPATE, IF IT CAN, IN MUNICIPAL ELECTORAL PROCESS
THIS FALL WHETHER PCE IS LEGALIZED OR NOT; (B) HE FOUND
DISCUSSIONS AT JAN 17-19 HELSINGOR SUMMIT MUCH MORE FRANK
THAN PREVIOUS INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST GATHERINGS HE HAD
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ATTENDED, AND HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY NOTICEABLE DIFFERENCE

IN APPROACH OF NORTHERN EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN SOCIALISTS:

(C) PCE'S SANTIAGO CARRILLO WAS STILL FIRMLY IN CONTROL OF PCE APPARATUS, EVEN THOUGH THERE WAS SOME "STALINIST" DISSENSION AT THE PARTY BASE, AND THE UNSWERVING SUPPORT OF CARRILLO BY PCE PRESIDENT DOLORES IBARRURI, "LA PASIONARIA" OF CIVIL WAR FAME, HAD BEEN PERHAPS KEY ELEMENT IN MAINTAINING CARRILLO'S POWER AND IS ENABLING HIM TO STAND UP TO SOVIETS: (D) INTERIOR MINISTER FRAGA HAD BEEN VERY INTELLIGENT IN ALLOWING PCE WORKERS COMMISSIONS LEADER MARCELINO CAMACHO TO TRAVEL AND GIVE PRESS CONFERENCES SINCE CAMACHO WAS BEGINNING TO MAKE FOOLISH STATEMENTS, SUCH AS HIS RECENT REMARKS IN PARIS WHERE HE BELITTLED THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MADRID SUBWAY STRIKE AND EVEN CHARACTERIZED IT AS A PROVOCATION INITIATED BY THE AUTHORITIES, WHICH STATEMENT ANGERED MANY WORKERS, (E) NEW GOVT IS STILL A "DICTATORSHIP", ALTHOUGH HE DID ACKNOWLEDGE FRAGA HAD DONE AN AMAZING JOB IN ELIMINATING REPRESSIVE FRAGA HAD DONE AN AMAZING JOB IN ELIMINATING REPRESSIVE POLICE AND OTHER PRACTICES; (F) PSOE BELIEVED NEW GOVT WOULD BE UNABLE TO TRANSFORM ITSELF AND THAT "DEMOCRATIC RUPTURE" AND CONSTITUENT PROCESS WERE STILL NECESSARY, ALTHOUGH PSOE WOULD THROW ITSELF INTO FIRST REAL MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS WHICH PSOE WOULD REGARD AS A TEST OF GOVT'S SUPPOSED DEMOCRATIC INTENTIONS: (G) NEGOTIATIONS TO FORM A UNITARY ORGANIZATION OF THE PCE-DOMINATED "JUNTA DEMOCRATICA" AND THE RIVAL MODERATE "PLATAFORMA DE CONVERGENCIA" COALITIONS WERE NOT NEARLY AS FAR ADVANCED AS MANY PERSONS BELIEVED, AND PCE STILL HAD A LONG WAY TO GO IN ORDER TO MEET ALL PSOE'S CONDITIONS: (H) PSOE, FOR ITS OWN POLITICAL REASONS, WAS AGAINST RENEWAL OF US-SPANISH BASES AGREEMENT, AS WELL AS AGAINST SPANISH ENTRY INTO NATO. LATER THOUGH, HE THOUGH A DEMOCRATIC SPAIN MIGHT WELL WISH TO ENTER NATO.

2. A GOOD DEAL OF THE CONVERSATION, AS IN PAST MEETINGS, FOCUSED ON THE COMMUNISTS, WHO PROVIDE GONZALEZ WITH PERHAPS HIS BIGGEST PROBLEM, SINCE THEY PUSH THE IDEA OF A UNITED FRONT WHILE TRYING TO UNDERMINE HIS LEADERSHIP. THE AMBASSADOR AGAIN MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT COMMUNIST PARTICIPATION IN THE DEVELOPING POLITICAL PROCESS WOULD

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BE TOTALLY INCONSISTENT WITH THE PROSPECTS FOR EVOLUTION TO A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM. HE ALSO MADE CLEAR OUR REASONS FOR CONCLUDING THE TREATY WITH SPAIN AND EXPRESSED OUR REGRET THAT THE PSOE HAD SEEN FIT TO OPPOSE IT.
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